

177 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and
535 the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.¹
The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's
line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison,
[533] the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them;
then the men walking backward with the women following, they return
to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with
the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers
are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and
proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead
of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back
to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly
continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.²
535 It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs.
765 It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died
[648] of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent
Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his
oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is
given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with
sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chief's harangue through an entire
night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to
fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals
the inaugurator of the dances and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the
shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the
pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the in-
[648] augurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn
for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance
535 takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger
[533] men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from
fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after
sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps
best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance,
but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried
with the step. The only older man present was Kāšādā, who had in-
vited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His
sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered
friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as
usual, and the Mohave of the Mohave, Captain Jim, who

¹I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but so I recall, they do
not join hands.

²Annually, according to Curtis, II, 98.

however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes 768
to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on 428
which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut [763]
down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer 765 ●
before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During [587]
this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p.
267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the trilec-
men met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is [177]
said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like
the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave
dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony.
but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to 769
talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go
near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always
took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gender, the [76]
former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circum-
stances of death occurring away from the house.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general 17/
area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribu- 764
tion. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern Cali-
fornia, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai,
Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Mari-
copa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,¹ Luiseno, Diegueño, and the people
throughout Baja California (or at least most of them²). Kroeber's map³
showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes
Cupeño, Juaneno, Gabrielino, and Fernandeno, for whom I have no data.
The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate
and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the
warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The
Zuni now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda
recorded that in 1540 they cremated.⁴

¹Information from Doctor W. D. Starna.
²Curtin, II, 82, 72, 83, 93, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (p), 501; Cushman, 227, 237; Janzen, (s), 140;
Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 818; Russell, (d), 302; Barthol, II, 292; Ceremony (1903)
states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 503; Hensley, 243; Davis, (c), 84, 90; Sparkman, 226; Kroeber
(f), note 12; Baughert (207) gives burial for Baja California.

³Kroeber, (c), 288.
⁴Lowie, (f), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtin, II, 10, 110; Haddock, (s), 45; Ceremony (1903) gives
cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipp, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (s), 343; Waship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who pokes the ashes and heart, the Luiseno, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed";⁴ while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.⁵ At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed.

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.⁶ This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Mono and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahulla, Diegueño, Luiseno, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yokuts, Miwok, Yokai Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.⁶ Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahulla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseno⁷ and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.⁸

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practice cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive

⁴Hays, (a), 24; Davis, (a), 96.

⁵Powers, 209: "A long pole was used 'to wring off the flesh'" (Page, 37.)

⁶For the latter see above, p. 270.

⁷Lewis, (i), 279; Curtis, II, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 394; Allen, 615; Davis, (a), 11; (a), 96, 100; Trippel, 8; Hauser, 242; Kroeber, (a), 62; De Blos, (a), 625 ff.; (r), 180, 183, 146; Spierman, 230; Mason, J. A., (a), 108; Powers, 164, 221, 228, 232-256, 264-291; Deam, (a), 215-230; Barrett, (b), 6.

⁸The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Spierman (230) but not by Davis or De Blos.

⁹This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achumawi, and Shasta (Deam, (b), 230). Klamath, to the Athapascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we meet except the Yokai on the basis of Powers' account (Kroeber, (a), 84; (r), 235; Powers, 141) and to the Southwestern Winton (Barrett, (r), 420). In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima (Curtis, 230; Henshaw, (d), 168).

171 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a
 764 commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other
 765 objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa,
 769 Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseno, Miwok, and Yokala,
 but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they
 are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring
 765 annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern
 769 Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills,
 and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseno "clothes-
 burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the
 Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the
 following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for
 all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs
 after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other
 groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days
 among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few
 months among the Yokala and the Miwok when important men are
 concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of
 those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, com-
 memorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which
 occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as re-
 occurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is
 that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it
 occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception
 noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort
 of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there
 are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regard-
 less of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueno, Luiseno, and Cupeño forms, all three image cere-
 monies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evi-
 dence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern
 Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this
 is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social
 prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes: the Maricopa and
 possibly the Yokala Pomo hold the performance for prominent men
 alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months
 after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the
 image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities;
 simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables
 die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

1928.]

Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.

299

Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is¹⁷¹
burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a⁷⁶⁵
house. The Luiseno also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a⁷⁶⁹
specially built structure.¹

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the
Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people
north of the Luiseno erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached
by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the
Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 285).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is¹⁷¹
based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at¹⁷⁸
least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the⁷⁶⁴
Maricopa, Mohave, Yokala Pomo, and Northwestern Maidu have taken⁷⁶⁵
it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last⁷⁶⁹
two, like Diegueño, Luiseno, and Cupeno, have confined it to longer
intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for
important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the
images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning
ceremony is probable; else why the burning of both clothing and images
where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made
images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are
more realistic.

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain obser-¹⁷¹
vances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A⁷⁶⁵
periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring⁷⁶⁹
among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River.
The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the
Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial
is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the^[764]
graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the
Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.² These crosses are
more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly
erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type.
Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area
of cremation also.

¹ Davis, (a), 100, 108 ff.
² Chumash, (a), 70; Pomo, (a), 848; Tait, (a), 209, 210; (b), 279; Gilman (1900) does not make it
clear whether the Puget Sound Indians fabricated effigies or carved them.

1928.]

Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.

343

the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the
thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524
857

SUICIDE

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in
myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there
have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, where-
upon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to
remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly;
then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I (Minsilla) saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I
do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's
father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he
beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat.
They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing
heroes after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a
suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them,
saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive.
Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be
good. Do not kill yourself." 624
765

COMPARATIVE NOTES

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford
good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative
material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably
in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equiva-
lent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory)
of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the
lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a
closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr.
E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet
Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was prob-
ably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The
Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no
mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking
there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired
it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house
takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at
Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used. 171
345

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported 764
by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-
9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with
my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandon-
ment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourn-
ing ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of cer-
tain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being
practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and
I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate
treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present
paper.

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments,
wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug
for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the
Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held [177]
for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the
desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead [768]
person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned tempo-
rarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site.
A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent
years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees
may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes [114]
that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were con- [423]
sidered personal property.

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been
held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established
among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that [114]
"a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of [171]
a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the [765]
Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the [769]
San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Wal-
apai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems
contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their
ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popu-
lar. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son.

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives [551]
of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and
other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget
quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his
relatives; in his business he might seek to take a relative with him to the [787]
land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a [755]
shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de-

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged.

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes

177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
 648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
 [175] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this
 reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during
 the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the
 increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies,
 and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand
 Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the
 main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
 [166] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned
 directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
 [138] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
 trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now
 [132] they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the
 standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars
 played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
 241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed
 considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow
 the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was
 the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other
 government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
 348 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
 648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction
 of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were
 rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they
 were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for
 living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan
 of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern tech-
 niques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
 765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
 648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
 177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the
 Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture
 through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with
 whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These
 processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal
 people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

177 If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are bor-
 531 rowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in
 824 the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is
 used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai
 wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the
 Palute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an
 article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in
 177 which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from
 765 the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the
 533 Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave
 origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai
 with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in
 by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resis-
 tance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the
 songs, references to the dead.

750 A host of similar observations may be made, which in my
 opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald
 recital of generalised culture history. I wish to repeat that such
 historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an
 earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical
 reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and
 assimilation of its elements.¹ I would now candidly admit that the
 historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is
 perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes
 of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a
 more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the
 conditions under which that growth takes place.

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¹ The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. *Anthr.*
Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7, 1921.

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were
deeply grieved at his approaching death.

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier,"
made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not
mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was
sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that
the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would
make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of
bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between
Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for
some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at
night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not
felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the
living it could be potentially dangerous.

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with
little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just
across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his
horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being
held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy
announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night.
He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in
front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son.

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives
of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and ad-
dressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that some-
one from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives
about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that
everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night
or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride
everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.)

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing
near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line,

765 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud,
152 "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely,
and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes.

[537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

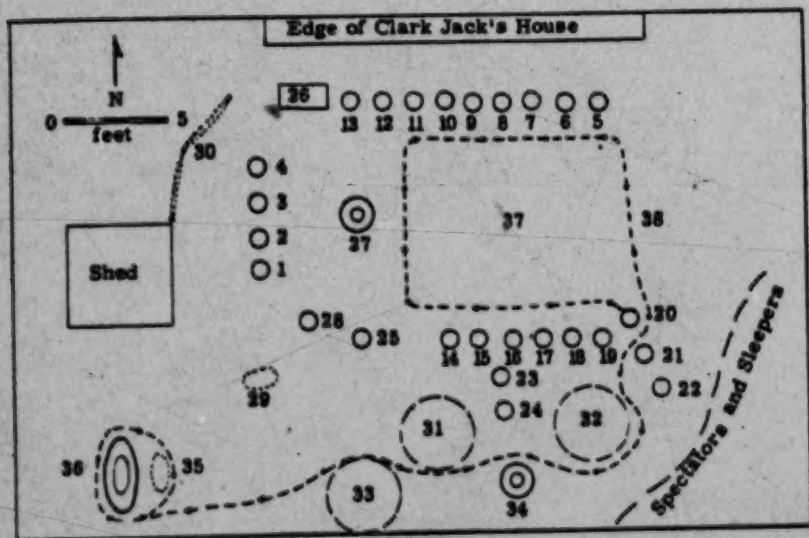
537 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father
765 and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests indicated that his father would not live long.
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Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing
535 east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]



Arrangement of mourners at the funeral of Mexican Jack

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|---|--|
| 1. Arthur Kaska, shaman | 25. Clark Jack, son of deceased; mourner |
| 2. Mark Hanna, in charge, sometime shaman | 26. Coffee table |
| 3. Assistant to 1 and 2 | 27. Fire |
| 4. Assistant to 1 and 2 | 28. James Wescogame, first position |
| 5. Ed Hamidreek alternating with James Wescogame, dancers | 29. Where guests piled clothing gifts for the deceased |
| 6. Teddy Crook, dancer with rattle | 30. Rock on which clothing was displayed all night |
| 7. Louis Sinyella, dancer with rattle, leading singer | 31. Position of mourners during initial wailing |
| 8. Lemuel Paya, dancer | 32. Position of mourners during wailing and round dance about 2:00 a. m. |
| 9. Dan Hanna, dancer | 33. Position of mourners and shaman during final wailing, round dance and burning of offerings |
| 10. Floyd Putesoy, dancer | 34. Fire |
| 11. Neil Uqualla, dancer | 35. Where clothing and possessions of deceased were piled while being thrown on fire, 36 |
| 12. Andrew Manakaja, dancer | 36. Fire in which clothing was burned |
| 13. Bela Wescogame, dancer | 37. Dance area |
| 14. Mecca Uqualla, dancer | 38. Line of dancers and direction of movement |
| 15. Paye Paya, dancer | |
| 16. CLS | |
| 17. Virginia, dancer | |
| 18. Nettie Putesoy, dancer | |
| 19. Hazel Crook, dancer | |
| 20. Gertrude, dancer | |
| 21. Margaret, dancer | |
| 22. Juana Burro, dancer | |
| 23. James Wescogame, solo singer with rattle; second position | |
| 24. Assistant to 23 | |

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 12 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
533 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

[537] Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hánaga, Hánaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs.

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On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.]

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Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightly forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck.

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About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

At 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Nya gal we?", ("What is the time?").

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About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion.

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● 765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

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535 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

765 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

[775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

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Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

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Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjava although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjava and Gátágama. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

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Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Hiff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

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"The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."